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A RETURN to the LETTER OF A NOBLE P E E R, Concerning the ADDRESSES.

My Lord,

THE Favour you conferred upon me, to permit me to write to your Honour, with a condescending Invitation; occasioned that of *March the 4th*, directed to your hand; in which, my Thoughts of the numerous *Addresses* seemed to me so plainly set down; that no Mistake could ensue: yet it hath otherwise happened, and your Answer, although not altogether differing from my Expectation, is not wholly such; nor so ingenious, as I expected. I could have wish'd, that as you printed the Answer, you had with it published my Letter, which gave the Occasion, that if any Knowledge of the Persons between whom this Intercourse is used, should give the World occasion to repeat our Names, and descent upon our Judgments, I might not appear, after so much resolute Constancy, now dotish and fluctuating.

But for your whole Discourse, *Noble Peer*, I must be plain in telling you, that not I, but the Likenels of it to that Speech you made in the *House*, which being published, the *Hangman* committed to the Flames, hath publish'd you the Author: And you do so mince this *Association*, and turn and wind it so tenderly, that it seems your own Projection, and a Brat so taking in your Affections, that every *Abhorrence* of it is a Daggers point at your Heart. You are much in Labour to have it believed never to have a Being, thinking that way to secure it from the zealous Abhorrons, and yet at every other turn, your Fondnes of it makes you break out into Commendations of it's pretty Features and Usefulness. Indeed, your Shiftings shew you have something of a debauch'd Modesty left, and that you are ashamed of what you so much love; my Willingness to excuse what will bear it, saith this of you: but the Generality cry out upon your Impudence, in saying, *An Association pretended to have been seized in the E. of S's Closet*, when nothing was ever more exactly proved, nothing more unquestionable and free from dispute, nothing more defended by that Lord's *Chentage*, and even owned in the *Court* by two of his *Compurgators*, (for they acted such more than *Jury-men*) who looking upon it, said, *This is the same with that which we saw produced, and promoted in the House of Commons*. And by the way, you may take notice what Justice was like to be done the *King*, when his Cause was in the hand of Persons guilty of the same Conspiracy; for, should they have found the *Bill*, they had directed the *Attorney General* to draw up one against themselves; as truly it is to be lamented, that they and all others should escape free from Punishment, who in the *House* saw and promoted this damnable *Plot of Association*, and did not so discover it, as to have the *Projectors* and *Forwarders* rewarded with their merited *Rope*. The Authors of such *Parliamentary Proceedings* ought to have their Heads advanced to the *House-top*, to admonish their *Successors* of *Modesty* and *Allegiance*.

But to return; Your Title, at the first sight, made me merry with the Remembrance of your *Lordship's* and that *Religious Party's*, you so diligently served, accustomed Activity, that out run their Sagacity, *laying open* dangerous *Plots* and *Designs* before they were *detected*. As your *Lordship* hath been frequently termed a *Catt*, from your noted Skill in falling safely, so you further merit it from the Apology of the *Catt* changed into a beautiful Woman, receiving a Change only in Form not in Conditions. You are by the exceeding Greatnes of Royal Favour, raised to very great Riches and Honour, not only out of a mean Fortune, but (pray pardon my Plainnes and necessary Freedom) *an ill State* (as you are too confisious) that merited Severity: yet all *Indulgences*, all immerited Additions of Lustre and Fortune, cannot alter you, but you must be *Cattting*, still playing your old Tricks, *laying open* before *detecting*. Your Wit hath, like *Galba's*, very unseemly Lodgings, and is no other than what may be conjectured to proceed out of so ill contrived a Frame, mischievous and unlucky: it serveth to no eminent Counsel, but to impole upon the silly and credulous Multitude, who adore you as some Idolaters are said to choose and worship their God, for it's excellent Deformity. No Man who makes a just and serious Inspection into these *Addresses*, feeth any thing but what becomes generous and loyal Subjects, whom the Sense of their own Duty, and the odious Practises of Men of your Principles, stir up to these Expressions of Fidelity on their own part, and a most reasonable Abhorrence and Detestation of the others.

And now, because it is an Answer to my Letter, you lay upon me the Task of enquiring what this Monster which you have rip'd up and laid open, is.

Yours

You begin to tell me, that the *Fermentation* which the Nation is put into, must be cherish'd by the ways that first occasioned it, and that the *Romish Designs* against the *Protestant Religion* and *Liberties of England*, would miscarry, if the Heats and Animosities between *Protestants* were not artificially fomented. Here the Tale you tell of the *Romish Designs* is so exceedingly stale, that it stinks abominably, and is rejected by most of the apprehensive *Dissenters* and *Faction* Party, who see it in vain to talk any more at that rate, the Generality of the Nation being cured of those Fits which the affrightful Noise of *Popery* put it into. For, as soon as honest and quiet Men hear any begin to blatter those fusty Discourses, they leave them as men tainted and rusty Tools (as you call them) to your *Trade of Protestant Joyner*. And the Truth is, you all so torment and saw what you take in hand to polish, that it's great pity the *Masters* of the *Company* are not hanged for *Company*, with the *Journey-man*. It's time indeed some end were put to the Lunacy the Kingdom hath been afflicted with, and I hope we may conclude it wrought, or near effecting, seeing the greatest part of what you will distract are recovered, and you are found not *Lords* of the *Ascendent Predominant over Affections*, but *Witches* and *Juglers* that have held men under some short Surprizal, but are delivered by *Divine Providence*, President at the *Council-Table*. Even they who command you do not believe you, and the rest will never trust you: Neither have you shot your Bolt any thing near the *Mark*, in saying, the *Operation* of the *Declaration* against the two last *Parliaments* being wholly spent, this against the *Association* is slipt in, and managed to *perpetuate Rancour*; for your self (I fear to your Grief) find the contrary, both that the *Efficacy* of the *Declaration* is not spent, but hath produced this brisk and genuine Off-spring, the natural Issue of so incomparable a Conjunction as the *Peoples Affections*, answering their *Prince's Condescension and Love*; and that it is so far from fostering Animosities, that it is the most certain Bond of *Union* that could ever have been framed; a *League* indeed *offensive and defensive*, not as your squinting Loyalty and unmannerly Comparison would make it seem, between the *Prince* and a *Faction*, but between the *King* and all his *Subjects*, who conscientiously respect their own duty, and the general Welfare. We never think or call that a *Faction*, which, compelled by the *Fear of God*, honoureth the *King*; but you, who of all Men living, have the greatest Provocations to admire and love regal Clemency and Bounty, do most wretchedly, after all the strictest Engagements to Loyalty, *turn back like a Dog to his Vomit*, and are pleased no otherwise, but d'ring your Respect to that vile *Excrecence of Government*, which hath been spued out and abhorred, as your beloved *Association* is now, chiefly for it's Tendency toward the same.

After you have made a Citation of a Loyal Gentleman's words, you will needs insinuate from them, a parity of His most Excellent Majestic's, and that basest of *Usurper's Oliver's Cause*, and do in effect deride all that out of Devotion worship the true God, because some, out of *Fear* or *Illusion*, have worship'd the Devil. *Usurpers*, conicious to themselves what Hatred their ambitious and tyrannical Invasions merit, study Popularity, and are forc'd to fawn upon the worst of men, whom they interest to impose upon others, and always rule by Arts contrary to the Prescriptions of Legal and just *Monarchy*; They either affright or corrupt men to obsequious acknowledgments; These, with *Majestical*, but *Gracious Countenance*, receive the due Tributes of voluntary Obedience, and encourage Fidelity, to the shame and terrore of such as associate and consult by their *Kings* to disturb the *Publick Peace*. Because some unduely flattered *Oliver*, (once your *Master*) therefore you will allow none to give our *Lawful King* those proper Eulogies and Thanks which his wise and excellent Government challenges from all, whom God hath blessed with Judgment to see and rejoice in their happiness by and under him.

But this, with your Lordship, is a *base and destructive Design*: a strong Affirmation, which you would have received, although you have forgotten to tell us the Reason. And so in truth you have the Sense which should direct us to what you mean, in saying, *It would have been some Argument of the Addressors Candour, and sincerity of their Intentions, in what they did before, if they had forborn their late Applications, till they had found that they were not mistaken in the grounds upon which they think to vindicate themselves for what they then did.* Something your Lordship did here conceive, but being ill Midwiv'd, is spoil'd in the production. As to what you said a little before, you are as unfortunate in your expressions and reasoning. For these *Addressors* are not sick of your Lordships Megrits and distempers of Brain, that giddily rave and anticipate the Fruits of Royal Counsels before maturity. They, as all brave Spirits, are blessed with *Humility*, and meddle not with the *King's Prerogative*, neither take upon them to instruct him when a *Parliament* will be most seasonably called, but leave it to his *Wisdom*, from which, by God's blessing upon it, they hope to reap the satisfactory Effects of these and their former *Addressors*, while your Lordship and your *Faction* Adherents shall sit in melancholick postures, and enviously assist your tormenting Angels in your own vexation.

How you call Mr. Gray's Oath a bare suggestion, I understand not; neither what credit you gair by saying this Assertion was, for what appears, only feigned and imaginary. Those few words upon this account before spoken, may (I think) suffice; for all your scutulous artifice will neither cover, nor colour that Villany. You may as well call in question, Whether that *Noble and Loyal Peer* was accused and indicted, as whether that Paper was seized in his Closet, or any where promoted by *Associators*; you may as well question, Whether that Lord ever was *Lord Chancellor*, and afterward made good his own words in his Speech to *L. Treasurer*, and found His Majesty a Prince under whom the unfortunate fell gently. Whether afterward in the Houle of Peers he made any Speeches in opposition to a certain strict Test for the discovery of Popery, promoted in that Houle; Whether he was since at *Oxford*, and afterward committed to the *Tower*.

Your Lordship thinks it congruous, that the *Addressors* tellise their detestation of the many *Sham Plots*, whereby Loyal and innocent Protestants have been endeavoured to be destroyed; and what is more evident, than that they do this, abhorring both the *real* and *Sham Plots*, which bold and bloody-minded Factions, under the name (forsooth) of *Protestants*, were engaged in, to the detraction of the *King*, *Religion*, and *Government*? This you are fierce and zealous to have done; yet being done, you dislike and complain of it; and what's the reason, but because while you cry out of *Popish Plots*, and *Popish Sham-Plots* onely, these *Addressors*, the true Friends of the *Protestant Religion*, and *Peace* of these Kingdoms, see you involved in the same Plots which you cry out against, — and engage to defend the *King* and establish'd *Religion* against all *Conspirators* whatsoever, whether *Popishly*, *Scismatically*, or *Heretically* affected?

But when all of you make such a dian about *Protestant*, and name the *Protestant Religion*, why do you not set forth what this *Protestant Religion* is, that we may know it before we engage to defend it? The Religion establish'd in the *Church of England* we are sure you would destroy, not preserve; for this the *Addressors* promise and desire to preserve, which promises onely give you these Galls and Disturbances. Neither will you own the *Presbyterian* to be the onely *Protestant*, nor with the *Presbyterian Independent*, for then the other younger Brethren, *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, *Quaker*, *Fifth Monarchy man*, and all the rest of this large Family, will take it very ill to be rejected as Spurious, and unprovided of *Protestant Portions*. If you take all into your politick Ark, whether feathered or naked, cloven-footed, clawed, or hoofed, this Conjunction will make *England* in the next Generation, surpass any part of *Africa* for monstrous Issue, when those of *Baxter's*, *Vincent's*, and *Jacomb's* holy Protestant Herds, shall mingle with *Protestant Muggletonians*, *Protestant Quakers*, *Protestant Ranter's*, and your Honour's, which is *Protestant Atheists*. Considering then, the impossibility of such pretended Union in different Opinions, knit together in one Band of Religion, and yet that if any one or more Part or Opinion be rejected, the Project is that way inconsistent with what it throws out, and would seem, because there's a Rupture made with the *Muggletonian or Ranter*, or whomsoever this *Holy League* receives not, who yet hath as good a title to that *Vocabulum of Protestant*, as *Jack Presbyter*, *Jack of Leyden*, *George of Munster*, or *Hugh Peters*, when he came from *New England*. So that in time I find the League hits not upon the score of Religion, but all these are *Protestants*, as protesting against *Monarchy*, and the whole present frame of *Government*, and that can no otherwise come under one name of *Protestant*, than by joyning with it the word *Rebell*; and then *Protestant Rebell* speaks all the Parties together, *Presbyterian*, *Muggletonian*, *Anabaptist*, &c. being as the Colours of *Yellow*, *Tawny*, *Green*, &c. by which the several Regiments are to be distinguished. And these, you think meet, the City of *London* should lead the way to address for their Protection, until they may conveniently be (as is aforesaid) united and formed into a Body that can defend and set up for it self. But your Lordship is still unfortunate, advising impertinently; for the *City*, seeing the *Design*, hath, in the *Lord Mayor* and *Lieutenancy*, taken a truly safe, commendable, and contrary way to your prescription, and so have bid your Honour good Night, wishing you to sleep for more wit.

And when *Parliaments* shall, in stead of Endeavours to perfect the important matters of the *Kingdom*, sit down and spin out more time in doing nothing, than other *Parliaments* have taken to dispatch Multitudes of Affairs, or rather, in doing nothing but chalking out unwarrantable Rules for the *Subject* to grow licentious, and act as in an authorized Disobedience. What Reason is there, that good and peaceable Men should not make to their *Prince* grateful *Addressess*, for his Care of them, in dissolving such *Parliaments*, and scattering the impending Mischiefs which threatened Ruine to our *Universē*? As an Anniversary day of *Thanksgiving* for our *Deliverance* from the ineffable Calamities we sustained by that trayterous Convention, called a *Parliament* assembled under *K. Charles the First*, whom they devilishly persecuted, unking'd and murthered, is appointed upon the day of his *Sacred Majesty* now reigning his Birth, and happy Return; it seems to me as reasonable, that those days, whereon his *Majesty* secured the *Liberty of the Subject*, by dissolving the last *Parliaments*, be kept Festival, in Commemoration of our *Deliverance* from those great and apparent *Dangers*, wherewith we were compassed, while they were in Session.

Neither are all *Associations*, (as either your Nine-eyed *Perusal* reads, or your distorted and grieved *Fancy* interprets them) abhorr'd in any of these *Addressess*, which detest only those two Diabolical ones, the first, of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and this seized in the *E. of S.'s Closet*,

set, but are themselves pious and Loyal Associations, excellently adapted (to use your Words) for the Preservation of his Majesties Person and Dignity, and the Protestant Religion, now by Law establish'd. But for your so justly abhorred Association, which you would insinuate, was to have had the Royal Stamp, pray tell me where and when those audacious *Ruffians* (who would not allow their King in the Management of his settled Revenues, the Priviledge which the meanest Owner of a Chattle Leale hath, in the disposal of it) did agree and consent more than in the taking the Covenant to ask the King's Leave and Liking? Or rather, tell me whether you would not first have taken it, and have afterward, upon the Point of a Spear, tendered it to him for his Approbation and Stamp, at *Holmby House*, the Isle of *Wight*, or *Hurst Castle*?

How strangely (you say) it looks, that the Mayor of *Gl.* who is recorded to have done Service against *Cl. Stewart*, at *Worcester*, should now be hugg'd for advancing these Addresses. From a Person of good Credit I am assured that this Gentleman, now Mayor of *Gl.* was in those times, with all the Family, expelled that City, because Persons of known Loyalty. But if it be as you say, it is not so strange to see deceived men undeceived; which happening, none are wot to be more zealous Maintainers of the *Cause*, which they once opposed. But it may be, you reflect on him, and the eminent Magistrate in the City of *London*, by reason of the Opinion received by many, That Rebellion is never truly repented of: But 'tis a Mistake; for although it be rare, yet we have seen divers Eminent Persons, great in the Rebellious times, far greater in the King's; as Col. *J. B.* and *D. L. H.* one of the five Members, yet since a Privy Counsellor, and Ambassador, entrusted with the weightiest Affairs of the Realm, and above all, the *E. of S.* whose Riches, Honours, and Trusts, were almost unaccountable: yet, to say there were not *Men of Principles* acting uniformly, but swayed by Interest, & ready to engage with the same heat in every thing that lieth in Subserviency to their Gain: What is this, but to upbraid those pious, great, and wise Ministers of State with In-sincerity, which must bear Inlet to all Villany and Corruption; which for you to think, or me to say, were a Crime never to be expiated. Therefore, if nothing in Mens Actions and Manners doth appear, but what speaks them obedient, all good Men will rejoice at their Conversion, notwithstanding the aforesaid Blackness of their former Translations.

As for your Brethren and Fathers of your Protestant Corporation and Interest, discourse them as you please at your own Leisure. But while your Zeal to the former Times transport you, no wonder you mistake Men and Business, and dream all things transacted after the *Wsurper's* Mode, as if the Country-Gentlemen, Grand-Jurors, and chief Burgers of Corporations in these days are like your Upstarts, who were indeed mere Tools, and must be managed like Puppets, ere they could squeak a pitiful Address to those Bables of Authority. And then, you, mentioning the different Opinions of the *Papists* in our days, from those in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, in the Cause of Succession, make we wonder at your either Error or imposing Confidence, if you either believe or would persuade others to believe the whirling *Zealots* have not a Papistical Rule and Method for all they do and say; and change Sense and Language as they are taught from *Rome*. You now all along say expressly the same which they then; but the Doctrine introduced under the Title of *the whole Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, and Couriers Arguments*, concerning the Succession of *Mary Queen of Scots*, is wholly false: for, whereas some of the *Puritan Gang* (which then began to be somewhat in esteem with Religious Time-servers) did preach up, and throw forth such Discourses as you mention, yet was it far from the Sense of the *Clergy* or sincere *State-man*, who would not alter from the Pattern of Loyalty set before them, and sealed with the Blood and Sufferings of those who drew it, in the Case of Queen *Mary's* and the Lady *Jane Grey's* Title to the Crown. Tho' they saw the Danger, yet they had learned to believe in, and relye upon the *Divine Providence*, which takes Care for the Safety of the *Church* and blessed is chiefly, when the *Governours* thereof renounce the *Refuge* of indirect *Politics*.

And then, what a Story you tell of *Associations* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time? Which had they been entred into, without her Consent, and of such a Draught as this abhorred one, which you so much dandle, no *Ignoramus Jury* should have resuled the Abettors and Concealers from the Gallows. And yet you presently destroy your own rare Tale in the following Paragraph, by prating where the King should reign, even in the *Hearts of his People*, which you would suppose he doth only of those who subscribe these Addresses. *An inconsiderable parcel of Men* (you say) *if compared with the Bulk of Nation*. Pray my Lord, tell me, whether the Subscribers in Queen *Elizabeth's* time were a tenth part of the Number? Yet were they a joyful Guard to her, who having their hands, was affir'd of the *rest* of inferior Ranks, who were under the Subscribers Command. And whereas you pretend these Addresses do proclaim the Weakness of the Government, you are out in that Note upon the Text; for, they most certainly magnifie it, rendering it glorious abroad and at home, in the Eyes of all, who with the Prosperity of it, being also a disheartening to it's *Enemies*, whether Forreign or Domestick. Nothing can be imagined more to encrease the *Honours of Esteem* towards him in our Neighbours Affections, than to see the Readines of the King of *Great Britain's* Subjects throughout the whole Kingdom to assert the Royal Prerogatives, and give such hearty Engagemens to defend his *Majesties* Sacred Person, *Crown* and *Dignities*, the *Religion* by Law established, and the *Right of Succession*: which last, is no less Reputation abroad and at home, than the former, because all Disputes and Heart-burnings concerning his Successor, disturbing his Peoples Affections make him uneasie, and frequently proves of as ill Consequence to any Prince, as if his own Title were in *Controversie*; but that, settled and undubitable, strengthens his Power, and blunts the sharpest Edge of Malice against this Prince that hath such a Revenger of any his Reproaches or Injuries. And when the Heads and principal Members of all Counties, Cities, Towns, and other Corporations, do with so filial a Respect purge themselves of all sinister Design or Intentions towards the *Crown*, either in the present *Fraction* or future *Inheritance*, and out of the Ardeney of honest Affections, abhor all such vitiated and rotten Members as you and others, who are, and have been versed in indirect and disloyal Practises, not only Forreign Malignity, but yours is hereby shattered in pieces, and you, who pretend you tremble at others, are in an Agony with the Thoughts of this and the cooperating Stings of Conscience.

What your Lordship mentions concerning the *Portugal King*, is Forreign to the Matter discours'd, and more ridiculous introduced, than I should a Petition that your Honour as a Reward for your Oratory and Manners should be sent to the House of Correction.

To conclude, seeing your Lordship so great a Counsellor and fortunate *State-man*, as never to be believed or loved, never to attain to what you seek, because your Mind's more Changling than your unshapely Body gives us to suppose, and alway knowing, that you never speak Truth but as the Devil did Scripture, to corrupt the *Holy* to *Apostacy*; our own Searchings having caused us strongly to confide in the *D. of York's* Loyalty, and unparalleled Love of his Prince, his untainted Candor and Sincerity towards all who faithfully respeft their Duty and Allegiance, your forming such terrible Dangers to the King and Kingdom by his Authority and Succession doth suffitiently secure us from Fear: For, were there any real Danger imminent, you would never discover it, it being impossible but you should have an *Hand* in it. And this *Giant Popery*, as it is magnified by your Opticks to us, is but a Dwarfe: How much proper he may appear to some, when shewn from off your *Musley Shoulders*, I cannot tell, and leave you to the Tryal; whom I desire to pardon for any thing harshly exprefſed, because I hope it may prove beneficial to your Honour, and if so, it is the same to

From Newmarket
March 15th.

Your Lordships very
Friend and Servant. &c.

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